6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The same informant gave more information about ' making cloud '. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, ' that it (thus) happens to us if we [775]
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade "; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall ' sitting green in the sky ', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair ' gives '. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain ' fears ' it. (*Koa*, the word ' to fear ', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

self, on Gao Feet's side, was sitting propped on the blankets we had given him to keep him warm in case of shock, feeling better and obviously taking an interest, for the matter was clearly close to everybody's heart. In fact, everyone was so interested in the quarrel that no one looked up when we came, for the people all sat with their ears pricked, waiting for a chance to speak. They, too, were glaring, deadly earnest, as though the argument were for their lives. Now and then someone would contribute a word or two, but for the most part the old woman did the talking. She looked bitter as gall; her eyes were burning and she hissed like a goose; she was accusing Gao Feet of having failed to give her a present of tsi nuts when he had come to Nama. Gao Feet was rubbing his face and it began to look as if he were losing. He said, obviously having said it before, that he had brought only a few. The woman said, also not for the first time, that she had expected him to give her a present and now he was refusing to do so. It was her right, she said, her due. Toma edged himself forward until he was beside Gao Feet, his friend and brother-in-law, and together they tried to pacify her, telling her that really Gao Feet had none to give, but her eyes burned so fiercely and the people behind her glared so that Toma and Gao Feet lost conviction and before long they fell silent again, defeated by themselves, for what they had tried to say was true. Finally the argument centered itself at its probable source, a gift given to Gao Feet's father by the woman's father which had not completed itself in an exchange. The woman's father, now long dead, could not receive it, Gao Feet's father, living far away at another pan at the farthest end of Nyae Nyae, could not give it unless he moved to Nama, so it was up to Gao Feet to assume responsibility.

Throughout the two crowds, children were sitting wide-eyed and open-eared. Things like this are remembered and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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431 talked about always; Bushman children listen for hours to
867 discussions of this kind and thereby know the history of every
869 object, every exchange between their families, before they are
578 ten or twelve years old. A debt unpaid is a sword against the debtor, to be used against him any time, for any reason. Jealousy and spite had surely preyed on the old woman's mind when she had started this discussion, for she had got up to seek out Gao Feet very early, just at dawn.

578 In the end, the argument was concluded and the crowd
609 scattered by us when we told Short Kwi that we were ready to take him to the hospital in Windhoek if he would go. He said he would, and the people, glaring bitterly at him, at each other, and at us, stood up and went to their scherms, saying to the other members of their families what they would have said to their opponents if they had had a chance.

Soon Short Kwi's werf was nearly empty. The only people who remained were Short Kwi, his family, ourselves, Toma, and Gao Feet. These two talked together, vindicating themselves, and then, before long and before we had a chance to discuss our plans to move Short Kwi, some of the people who had been on Gao Feet's side in the argument came back and crouched beside us stolidly, waiting to hear what might now be said. Jealousy had been aroused.

609 Because of the long journey and Short Kwi's condition, we thought that it would be best for him to leave at once, but his wife spoke out against this, saying that the rest of her family, probably at this moment on their way here, would be heartbroken to find them gone. She would like to wait for them, she said, to say good-by. Gao Feet agreed with her. He added that if her mother were to come and find her gone the old woman would cry and cry for days, but Toma shook his head. "Perhaps Short Kwi can be helped," he said. "Perhaps

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (*Ugi*, men's dance), which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, a supernatural being called Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

[1] Loc. cit.